Elizabetha D. G. Regina.
Ang: Fran: et Hib.

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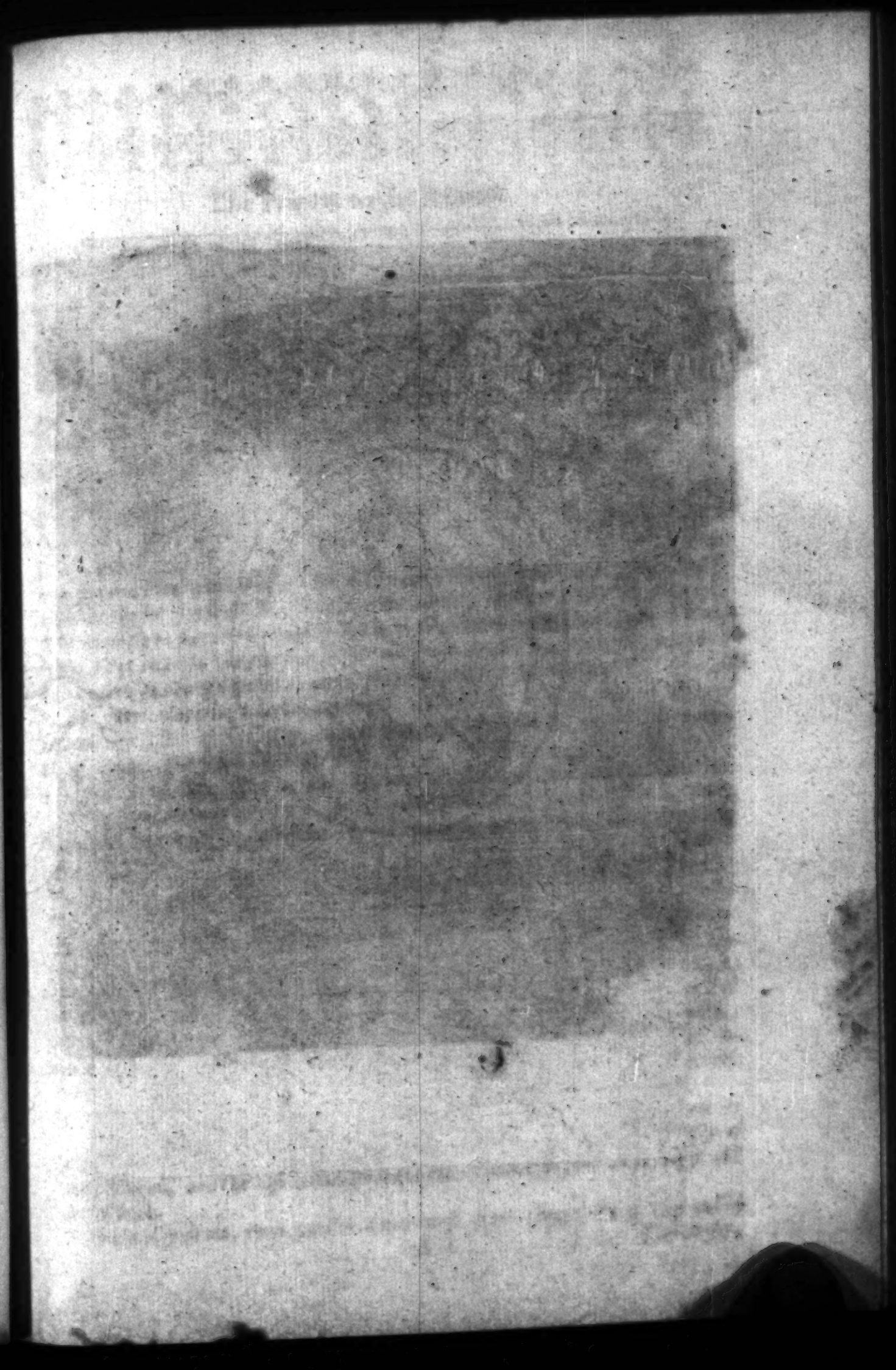
6068

THE COPIE OF A LETTER SENT OVT OF ENGLAND TO AN AMBASSADOUR in FRANCE for the KING of SPAINE, declaring the State of ENGLAND contrary to the opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his partizans Spaniards and others.

Wherunto are adioyned certain Advertisements, concerning the losses and distresses happened to the Spanish Navy, as well in fight with the English Navie in the narrow Seas of England; as also by tempests and contrary Winds, upon the West and North coasts of Ireland, in their returne from the Northerne Isles beyond Scotland.

LONDON,
Printed by George Miller dwelling in Black-Friers. 1601.

HISPANIA. REX. PHILIPPVS. DEI GRATIA



More then halfe ye Spanish Fleet Taken and Sunck.

The Spaniards Consulting — and at last resolving to return into Spaine by the north Ocean many of their ships being disabl

The Printer to the Reader.

ALthough it be well known, that neither the first writers of these Letters now by me printed, nor yet the Spaniard Don Bernardin to whom they are directed had any desire to heare of any good successe to the State of England: as may appeare in the writer, by shewing himselfe grieved, to make any good report of England, other then of meere necessity he was urged: And in Don Bernardin, who was so impudent, or at the least, so blindly rash, as to disperse in print, both in French, Italian and Spanish, most false reports of a victory had by the Spaniards, even when the victory was notable on the part of England, and the Spanish vanquished; yet whilst I was occupied in the printing hereof, a good time after the Letters were sent into France, there came to this City certaine knowledge, to all our great comfort, of sundry happy Accidents, to the diminution of our mortall enemies in their famous Fleet, that was driven out of our Seas about the last of July, 1588 towards the farthermost North parts of Scotland. Wherefore I have thought it not amisse to joyne the same to this Letter of Don Bernardin, that he may beware not to be so hasty of himselfe, nor yet to permit one Capella, who is his common sower of reports to write these false things for truthes.

The particularities whereof are these. The Fleet was by tempest driven beyond the Isles of Orkney, about the first of August, 1588. the place being aboue threescore degrees from the North Pole: an unaccustomed place for the young Gallants of Spaine, that never had felt former on the Sea, or cold weather in August. And about these North Islands, these Mariners and Souldiers died daily by multitudes: as by their bodies cast on land did appeare. And after twenty daies or more, having spent their time in miseries, they being desirous to returne home to Spain, sailed very farre South-west ward into the Ocean to recover Spaine. But the Almighty God, who alwaies avengeth the cause of his afflicted people which put their confidence in him, and bringeth downe his enemies that exalt themselves with pride to the Heavens, ordered the windes to be so violently contrarious to this proud Navie, as it was with force dissevered on the high Seas West upon Ireland: and so a great number of them, driven into sundry dangerous bayes, and upon rockes, all along the West and North parts of Ireland, in sundry places distant above an hundred miles asunder, and there cast away: some sunke, some broken, some run on sands, some burned by the Spaniards themselves.

As in the North part of Ireland towards Scotland, betwixt the two rivers of Loughfoile and Lough Swilley, nine were driven to land, and many of them broken, and the Spaniards forced to come to land for succour amongst the wilde Irish.

In another place, twenty miles South-west from thence, in a Bay called

Calbeggy; three other ſhips driven alſo upon rockes. In another place Southward, being a Bay called the Borreys, twentie miles North from Gallowey belonging to the Earle of Ormond, one ſpeciall great Ship of a thouſand tunne, with fifty braſſe peeces and foure Cannons was ſunke, and all the people drowned ſaving ſixteene: who by their apparell, as it is advertiſed out of Ireland, ſeeme to be perſons of great eſtimation.

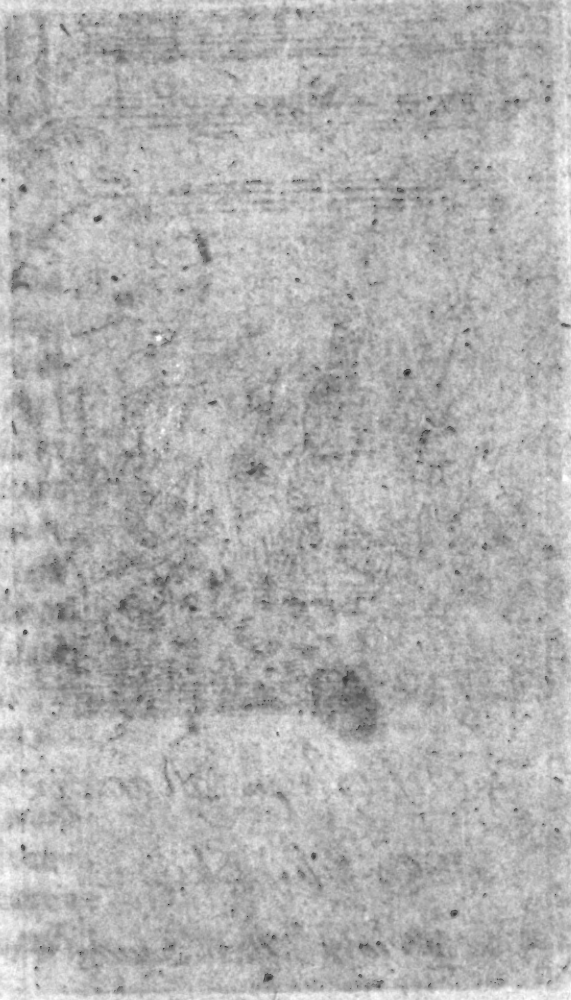
Then to come more to the Southward, thirtie miles upon the coaſts of Thomond, North from the river Shennan, two or three moe periſhed, whereof one was burned by the Spaniards themſelves, and ſo driven to the ſhore: another was of S. Sebaſtians, wherin were three hundred men, who were alſo all drowned ſaving threeſcore. A third Ship with all her lading was caſt away at a place called Breckan.

In another place afore Sir Tirlogh Obrynes houſe, there was alſo another great Ship loſt, ſuppoſed to be a Galliaſſe. Theſe loſſes above mentioned, were betwixt the fift and tenth of September, as was advertiſed from ſundry places out of Ireland: ſo as by account, from the one and twentieth of July, when this Navy was firſt beaten with the Navie of England, until the tenth of September, being the ſpace of ſeven weekes and more, it is moſt likely that the ſaid Navie had never good day nor night.

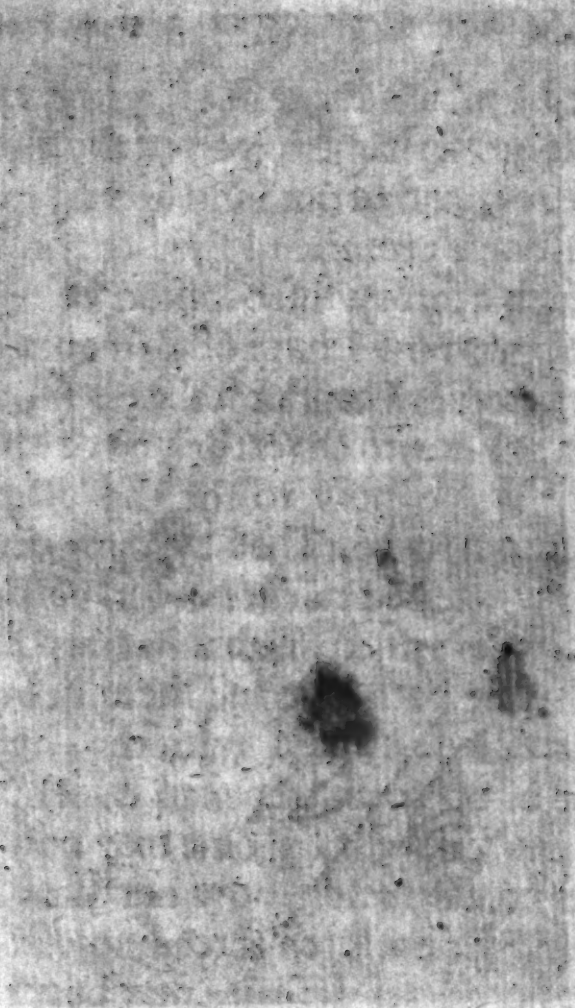
Of the reſt of the Navie, report is alſo made that many of them have bene ſeene, lying of and on upon the coaſt of Ireland, toſſed with the windes, in ſuch ſort as it is alſo doubted, that many of them ſhall hardly recover Spaine, if they be ſo weakned with lacke of victuals and Mariners, as part of their companies that were left on land do lamentably report. Theſe accidents I thought good to adde to the printed Copies of the Letters of Don Bernardin, that he may ſee how God doth favour the juſt cauſe of that gracious Queen, in ſhewing his anger towards thoſe proud boaſting enemies of Chriſtian peace, as the whole world, from Rome to the uttermoſt parts of Chriſtendome may ſee, that ſhe and her Realme, profeſſing the Goſpell of his ſonne Chriſt were kept and defended, as the words of the Pſalme are, Under the ſhadow of his wings from the face of the wicked that ſought to afflict her, and compaſſe her round about to take away her ſoule: Which I doubt not, by thankfullneſſe yelded by her Majeſtie and her whole Realme, will alwaies cotinue.

The 9. of Octob. 1588.

The Spanish Ships lost
on the Coast of Scotland
and 700 Souldiers and
mainners cast a Shoare



Spanish Ships cast away on the Irish Shoare with Marriners and Seamen



The Copie of a Letter sent out of ENGLAND to an Ambassadour in FRANCE for the King of SPAIN.

MY Lord Embassador, though at the time of my last large writing to you of the state of this countrey, and of our long desired expectation of succours promised, I did not thinke to have had such a sorrowfull occasion of any second writing, as now I have of a lamentable change of matters of estate here; yet I cannot forbeare (though it be with as many sighes as lines) to advertise you of the truth of our miserable condition, as now to me and others of our party the same appeareth to be, That by comparing of all things past in hope, with the present now in despaire, your L. who have had the principall mannaging hitherto of all our causes of long time both here and there in France, betwixt the King Catholique assisted with the Potentates of the holy League, and all our countrey men which have professed obedience to the Church of Rome may now fall into some new and better consideration, how our state both for our selves at home, and our brethren abroad, now at this present fallen (as it were) into utter despaire, may be revived and restored to some new hope, with better assurance of succesſe then hath happened hitherto: For which purpose I have thought it necessary to advertise you in what termes this countrey now standeth, far otherwise then of late, both we at home, and others abroad did make account of. You know how we have depended in firme hope of a change of the state of this countrey by the meanes of the devout and earnest incitations of the *Popes Holinesse*, of the *King Catholique*, and of other *Potentates* of the *Holy League*, to take upon them the invasion and conquest of this Realme, and by your assurances, and firme promises, we were now of a long season past

In what termes England standeth in the opinion of the Catholiques.

past perſwaded, that the *King Catholique* had taken upon him the ſame glorious Act, and thereof from yeare to yeare we looked for the execution, being continually fed and nouriſhed from you to continue our hope, and ſundry times ſolicited by your earneſt requeſts and perſwaſions to encourage our party at home not to waver, as many were diſpoſed by ſight of continuall delayes, but to be ready to joyne with the out ward forces that ſhould come for this invaſion. Nevertheleſſe the delayes and prolongations of times appointed for the comming of the Kings forces, ſpecially by ſea, have been ſo many, as until this laſt ſpring we were in deſpaire: at what time you adverti ſed us with great aſſurance that all the Kings preparations, which had bin in making ready theſe 3 or 4 yeares together, were now in full perfection, and without faile would this Summer come into our Seas with ſuch mighty ſtrength, as no Navy of England, or of Chriſtendome could reſiſt and abide their force; and for more ſurety, and for avoyding of all doubts, to make the intended conqueſt ſure, the ſame ſhould alſo have joyned to it, the mighty army which the Duke of *Parma* had made ready, and kept in readineſſe in the low counttries all this yeare paſt, wherwith he ſhould land, and ſo both by ſea and land, this Realme ſhould be invaded, and a ſpeedy conqueſt made thereof, to the which were alwayes added ſundry reaſons: Whereupon was gathered, that neither by ſea, nor by land, there would be any great reſiſtance found here, but a ſtrong party in this Realme to joyne with the forrain force. For otherwiſe then with ſuch helps to be aſſuredly had from hence, I know, it was alwayes doubted that no forrein force could prevaile againſt this Realme, being (as it is) environed by ſea, and notably replenished with more mighty and ſtronger people then any country in Chriſtendome. But with the hope of the landing of theſe great armies and our aſſiſtance in taking part, we here continued all this yeare paſt in aſſured hope of a full victory, untill this laſt month. But alas and with a deadly ſorrow, we muſt all at home and abroad, lament our ſudden fall from an immeaſurable high joy, to an unmeaſurable deep deſpaire, and that ſo haſtily fallen out, as I may ſay, we have ſeen in the

The Spaniſh preparation 3 yeares in making.

The Duke of Parmas army in Flanders.

No forraine force could invade England, without a ſtrong party in England.

Hope of victory by the Spaniſh army with aſſiſtance of a party in England the Summer.

The Prince of Parma coming to Dunkerk with his Army but to late is received by the Spaniards with reproach

The Spaniards bewailing ye
missortun of their friends.

space of eight or nine dayes in this last month of Iuly, which was from the appearance of the Catholique great Navy upon the coast of England, untill it was forced to fly from the coast of Flanders neare *Gallice*, towards the unknowne parts of the cold North, all our hopes, all our buildings, as it now appeareth but upon an imagined conquest, utterly overthrown, and as it were with an earthquake, all our castles of Comfort brought to the ground, which now (it seemeth) were builded but in the ayre, or upon waves of the sea, for they are all perished, all vanished away even from our thoughts.

All Spanish hope fallen in nine dayes.

And herewith I am astonished what I may best thinke of such a worke so long time in framing, to be so suddenly overthrown, as by no reason could proceed of man, or of any earthly power, but onely of God. And if so it be (as no body can otherwise impute this late change and fall from our expected fortune, but to God Almighty) then surely our case is either dangerous, or doubtfull how to judge thereof, whether we have been these many yeares in the right or not. For I do find, and know that many good and wise men, which of long time have secretly continued in most earnest devotion to the Popes authority, begin now to stagger in their minds, and to conceive that this way of reformation intended by the Popes Holinesse is not allowable in the sight of God, by leaving the ancient course of the Church by *Excommunication*, which was the exercise of the spirituall sword, and in place thereof to take the temporall sword, and put it into a Monarchs hand to invade this Realme with force and Armes, yea to destroy the Queene thereof, and all her people addicted to her; which are in very truth now seen by great proofe this yeare, to be in effect infinite and invincible, so as some begin to say that this purpose by violence, by bloud, by slaughter, and by conquest, agreeth not with Christs doctrine, nor the doctrine of S. *Peter*, or S. *Paul*. And to tell your Lordship truly, I find presently in a great number of wise and devout people, though they continue in their former Religion, yet doe they secretly condemne this intended reformation by bloud and force. Insomuch as I heard a good divine alledge a text of S. *Gregory* in these words, *Quid de Episcopis qui verberibus timeri volunt Ca-*

The Catholiques doubt of their cause, seeing the hand of God against the army.

Many English Catholiques mislike of the Popes reformation by force.

nones

nones dicunt bene paternitas vestra novit, pastores sumus non percussores. Nova enim est praedicatio, quæ verberibus exigit fidem.
This sentence I obtained of him, because it seemeth to be charitably written. But leaving this authority among Doctors, I must needs say that in very truth no one thing hath done at this time more hurt to the action, then the untimely hasty publishing abroad in this Realme, before this Army of Spaine was ready to come forth to the seas, of sundry things written, and put in print, & sent into this Realm, to notifie to the people, that all the Realme should be invaded and conquered, that the Queen should be destroyed, all the Nobility and men of reputation, of honour, & wealth that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withstand the invasion, should be with all their families rooted out, and their places, their honours, their houses and lands bestowed upon the conquerors: things universally so odiously taken, as the hearts of all sorts of people were inflamed; some with ire, some with feare, but all sorts almost without exception, resolved to venture their lives for the withstanding of all manner of conquest, wherewith every body can say this Realme was not threatened these five hundred yeares and more.

The untimely publishing of the intended conquest before the Spanish navy was ready did great hurt.

The hearts of all sorts of people inflamed against the Spaniards vaunting to conquer the Land.

These reports were brought to this Realme with good credit, not in secret but in publike writings and printings, and took deep root in all kind of people of this land; and indeed was of the more credit, first by reason of a new *Bull* lately published at *Rome* by the *Popes* Holinesse (which I have seen) with more severity then others of his predecessors, whereby the Queen here was accursed, and pronounced to be deprived of her Crowne, and the invasion and conquest of the Realme committed by the *Pope*, to the *king Catholique*, to execute the same with his armies both by sea and land, and to take the Crowne to himselfe, or to limit it to such a *Potentate* as the *Pope* and he should name. And secondly, there followed large explanation of this *Bull*, by sending hither a number of English books printed in *Antwerp*, even when the Navy of Spaine was daily looked for, the originall whereof was written by the reverend father *Cardinall Allen* in Aprill last, called in his owne writing the *Cardinall of England*, which booke

The untimely publication of the Popes Bull did hurt to the common cause.

Cardinall Allens books have done much hurt to the intended invasion and conquest.

was so violently, sharply, and bitterly written, yea (say the adversaries) so arrogantly, falsly, and scandalously, against the person of the Queene, against her father King *Henry* the eight, against all her Nobility, and Councell, as in very truth I was heartily sorry to perceive so many good men of our own Religion offended therewith, in that there should be found in one accounted a Father of the Church, who was also a born subject of this Crowne (though by the adversaries reported to be very basely borne) such foule, vile, irreverent, and violent speeches, such irefull and bloudy threatenings, of a Queen, of a Nobility, yea of the whole people of his owne nation.

The Cardinals rash and violent writing misliked by the Catholiques.

Sorry, and most sorry I am to report the generall evill conceit of these unordinate & unadvised proceedings of this Cardinall, of whose rash choice to such a place, the world speaketh strangely, as though he came to it through corruption of the Popes Sister, without liking of the Colledge of Cardinals, where otherwise the blessed intention of our holy Father, and the desire also of the said Cardinall, might without such fatall bloudy premonitions, and threatenings of future invasions and conquests by the Catholique Kings noble forces, have taken better place.

The multitude of books published to shew the greatnesse of the Spanish Navy, did also hurt.

There was also to adde the more credit to these terrible prognostications, such kind of other books printed in Spaine and translated into French (as it is said by your Lordship) containing particular long descriptions, and catalogues of *Armados* of *Castile*, of *Andalouzia*, of *Biscaye*, of *Guipuscoe*, of *Portingall*, of *Naples*, of *Sicil*, of *Ragusa*, and other countries of the *Levant*, with a masse of all kind of provisions, beyond measure, for the said *Armados*, sufficient in estimation, to be able to make conquest of many kingdomes or countries. And one great Argument is published by the adversaries to stir up the minds of the Nobilitie of England against the Spaniards, which is very maliciously invented, to shew the intention of the conquest, not only of *England*, but of the whole Isle of *Britaine*, moving all men specially to marke by the description of the *Armado*, that there are specially named such a number of Noblemen, as *Princes*, *Marquises*, *Condes*, and *Dons*, that are called *Adventurers*, without any office or pay, and such another number also of

of men with great titles of honour, and many of them named Captains and *Alferez*, without office, but yet in *ſold*, and therefore called *Entertenidos*, as all thoſe being for no ſervice in the *Armada* may be well preſumed (ſay they) to have come to have poſſeſſed the roomes of all the Noblemen in England and Scotland, and this fiction hath taken more place then it is worth. And though theſe armies were indeed exceeding great and mighty, yet they were ſo amplified beyond all meaſure in theſe books, as in no preparation of Chriſtendome in former times againſt the *Sarracins* or *Turks* could be greater. By this meanes this Queene and her Realme, being thus forewarned and terrified, took occaſion with the ayde of her people, being not only firmly (as ſhe was perſwaded) devoted to her, but throughly irritated, to ſtir up their whole forces for their defence againſt ſuch prognoſticated conqueſts, as in a very ſhort time all her whole Realme and every corner were ſpeedily furniſhed with armed people on horſebacke, and on foot, and thoſe continually trained, exerciſed, and put into bands, in warlike manner, as in no age ever was before in this Realme. Here was no ſparing of money to provide horſe, armour, weapon, pouder, & all neceſſaries, no not want of proviſion of Pyoners, carriages, and victuals in every County of the Realme, without exception, to attend upon the Armies. And to this generall furniture every man voluntarily offered, very many their ſervice perſonally without wages, others money for armour and weapons, and to wage ſouldiers, a matter ſtrange and never the like heard of in this Realme or elſe where. And this generall reaſon moved all men to large contributions, that to withſtand a conqueſt where all ſhould be loſt, there was no time to ſpare a portion.

The forewarnings of the Armadas greatneſſe cauſed the Queene to put all her Realme in force beyond all former.

The numbers made ready in the Realme I cannot affirme of mine owne knowledge, but I have heard it reported, when I was grieved to thinke the fame to be ſo true, that there was through *England* no quarter, *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North* and *South*, but all concurred in one mind to be in readineſſe to ſerve for the Realme: And that ſome one countrey was able to make a ſufficient army of twenty thouſand men fit to fight, and fifteene thouſand of them well armed and weaponed; and in ſome countries the number of forty thouſand able men. The

The armies made ready in England in every quarter of the Realme.

The maritine countries from *Cornewall*, all along the Southside of *England*, to *Kent*, and from *Kent* Eastward, by *Essex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke* to *Lincolne-shire* (which countries with their havens were well described unto you in perfect Plots, when *Francis Throgmorton* first did treat with your L. about the same) were so furnished of men of war, both of themselves, and with resort of ayde from their next Shires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any forraine forces, but there were within eight and forty houres to come to the place above twenty thousand fighting men on horseback and on foot, with field ordinance, victuals, pioners and carriages, and all those governed by the principall Noblemen of the countries, and reduced under Captaines of knowledge.

The maritime Countries provided at landing places with 20000 men.

And one thing I heard of, that was very politiquely ordered and executed at this time, as of many late yeares was not used; that as the leaders and officers of the particular Bands were men of experience in the warres: so to make the Bands strong and constant, choise was made of the principall Knights of all countries to bring their tenants to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth: whereby all the forces so compounded were of a resolute disposition to sticke to their Lords and Chieftaines, and the Chieftaines to trust to their owne tenants. And to remember one strange speech that I heard spoken may be marvelled at, but it was avowed to me for a truth, that one gentleman in Kent had a band of 150 footmen, which were worth in goods above 150000 pounds sterling, besides their lands: such men would fight stoutly before they would have lost their goods, & by likelihood at this time, many other bands were made of such principall men, both of wealth and strength. Of these things I am sorry to have cause to write in this sort; but because you may see how heretofore you have been deceived with advertisements of many, which had no proofe to know the truth thereof, and so I confesse my selfe in some things to have erred, namely, in imagining that whensoever any forrain power should be seen ready to land in any part of this Realme, there would have bin found but a smal number resolute to withstand the same, or to defend the Queen; but that the same would have been very unable for the wars,

All the bands were under the principal Knights of the Realme, compounded of the most mighty men being their tenants and servants.

A strange report of the wealth of a band of souldiers.

wars, untrained, raw, and ignorant in all warlike actions, without sufficient armour and weapons; and that also the Noblemen and Gentlemen that were in this Realme of our religion, whereof you know we made account when you were here in *England* of very many, although many of them be dead since that time; but at this time there are not so many tens, as we accounted hundreds, whom we thought would have shewed themselves like men of courage for our common cause, and would have suddenly surprised the houses, families, and strength of the heretiques and adversaries.

An errour of the Catholique fugitives in the number of their partners in England.

But now, such is our calamity, that it hath pleased God, as I thinke, for our sins, or else for confounding of our bold opinions, and presumptions of our owne strength, to put in the hearts of all persons here, one like mind and courage to withstand the intended invasion, as well in such as we accounted Catholiques, as also in the heretiques: so as it hath appeared manifestly that for all earnest proceeding for arming, and for contributions of money, & for all other warlike actions, there was no difference to be seen betwixt the Catholique and the hereticke. But in this case to withstand the threatened conquest, yea to defend the person of the Queene, there appeared such a sympathy, concourse, and consent of all sorts of persons, without respect of Religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight against all strangers, as it were with one heart and one body. And though some few principall Gentlemen, of whom heretofore you have had the names in such Catalogues of Catholiques as you have bin acquainted withall, were lately upon the report of the comming out of the army to the seas, sent to the Isle of *Ely*, there to remaine restrained of their former liberty during the expectation of this intended invasion; yet it hath appeared that they were not so restrained for any doubt that they would with their powers have assisted our army, but onely thereby to make it knowne to all our friends and countrey-men in Spaine and Flanders, yea even to your selfe (for so I heard it spoken, as accounting you to have bin the most principall Author & perswader of this action) that there should be no hope to have any of them, or of their friends, to assist these great armies. And in very truth, I see now whoso-

A consent and concurrencie of Papists and Protestants to withstand the conquest.

ever of our friends in Spaine, or in Flanders, or elsewhere, made any such account of any ayd against the queen, or against her party here, they should have bin deceived if the army had offered to have landed. For I my selfe have heard that the best of those that were sent to *Ely* did make offers, yea by their letters to the Councell here, signed with their hands, that they would adventure their lives in defence of the Queene, whom they named their undoubted *Soveraigne Lady* and *Queene*, against all forrain forces, though the same were sent from the *Pope*, or by his commandement: Yea divers of them did offer that in this quarrell of invading of the Realme with strangers they would present their owne bodies in the foremost rankes with their countrey-men against all strangers. Whereupon I heard also by a secret friend of mine in the Court, that it was once in some towardnesse of resolution amongst the Counsellors, that they should have bin returned and put to their former liberty. But the heat of the war being kindled with the knowledge of the Kings *Armado*, being at that time come to the *Groigne*, and the Duke of *Parmas* readinesse with so great an army and shipping in Flanders, daily looked for to land in England, yea to come to London, and a generall murmur of the people against all such *Recusants* of reputation, was the cause of the staying of these Gentlemen at *Ely*, notwithstanding their offers of their service to the Queene. And so they doe remain in the Bishops palace there, with fruition of large walks about the same, altogether without any imprisonment, other then that they are not suffred to depart into the town or country; and yet for their Religion, I thinke surely they doe, and will remaine constant to the obedience of the Church of Rome; for the which nevertheless they are not impeached to any danger of their lives, but onely charged with a penalty of money, because they will not come to the Churches, whereby, by the law, a portion of their revenue is allotted to the Queen, and the rest left to the maintenance of them, their wives and children.

The gentlemen Recusants in Ely offer to adventure their lives against all invasions whatsoever, without respect of Pope or other Potentate.

The Recusants are not put in danger of their lives for their Religion, but are fined as sums of money.

By which kind of proceedings our adversaries here doe pretend that both these Gentlemen, and all other of their qualities are favourably used, that they are not pursued to death for their

their Religion, as they ſay it was uſed in Queen *Maries* time, and as it is daily uſed (as they ſay) moſt rigorouſly and barbarouſly in Spaine againſt the Engliſh-men that come thither, only in trade of merchandiſe. And yet I and others ſometimes privately ſpeaking with ſuch our adverſaries, as we thinke are not maliciouſly bent to have men proſecuted to death only for their Religion (for to ſay the truth, and as the proverbe is, not to belye the Devill, very many of our Contraries are in that point not uncharitable) we doe object to them the executions by cruell torments, and deaths of very many, both here about London, and other parts of the Realme, whom we account as Martyrs, in that they doe witneſſe by their death their obedience to the Pope, and the Catholique Church of Rome.

The Jeſuites are not executed for Religion but for treaſons.

To which, theſe our adverſaries, pretending ſome ſmal drops of charity do anſwer us, That no execution hath bin of any, to their knowledge, for their Religion, or for profeſſion thereof; but for that they which have been executed, have bin found to have wandred in the Realme ſecretly, and in a diſguiſed manner, which the adverſaries ſcornfully terme as ruffians, with feathers and all ornaments of light coloured apparell, like to the faſhion of Courtiers, and doe uſe many means to entice all people, with whom they dare adventure to ſpeake, not only to be reconciled to the Pope, and Church of Rome, but to induce them by vowes and oathes to renounce their obedience to the Queene; to deny her to be their Soveraigne, and themſelves to be diſcharged of their Allegiance; and to repute all Magiſtrates under her to be unlawfull, and in conſcience not to be obeyed, with many more ſuch matters (which I nevertheleſſe count to be very vain calumniations) tending to make the facts of all ſuch holy Prieſts as are ſent with Commiſſion to win mens ſoules, to be direct treaſons againſt the Queen and the ſtate of the Realme.

The Seminaries for the moſt part come diſguiſed like Ruffians.

Theſe Defenders of theſe judgements and executions, contend, and doe moſt earneſtly maintaine, that all ſuch Prieſts, Jeſuites, Seminaries and others, ſo perſwading the people againſt the Queen, the Lawes, and the Government, and ſtate of the Realme, and all others that are ſo perſwaded by them, are manifeſt traitors; and ſo they ſay that their enditements, and

all processe of law extended and pursued against them, do manifestly declare the same. Wherein these our adversaries doe sometimes for maintenance of their arguments, shew the very copies of their enditements and judgements, wherein there is no mention made of charging them with their Religion, but that they have attempted to perswade the Queens subjects to forsake their Allegiance, and consequently to be rebels to their Queen and Soveraigne.

In this sort, these men for their advantage, doe at all times, with these and many like earnest arguments maintaine their proceedings against the holy Priests and Jesuites that have suffered death for their conscience, as just and necessary. And though, where I and others may reply without perill to our selves (as surely in some small companies we may, using modest words) we object the confession of the Catholike faith by the parties at their death, and that with great constancy, which our adversaries cannot deny, so as it may seeme they dye for their Religion; yet is it on the other part against us alleadged, and maintained, that they are neither endited, condemned, nor executed for their Religion, or for offering of themselves to die for their Religion, but onely for their former treasons in conspiring against the Queen & state of the Realme: no otherwise then of late time *Babington* and all his Complices, who were condemned for their attempt to have raised war in the Realm, and to have murdered the Queen, and to have set up the Q. of Scots, all which the said *Babington* and all his complices voluntarily confessed, and were condemned and executed, only for those their great treasons; and yet divers of them at the place of their execution, did in like maner (as these Priests and Jesuites use to doe) make confession of their Catholike faith, with offer to dye for the same; and yet (say our adversaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that *Babington* and his complices were put to death for Religion, but for their treasons.

Babington suffered for his treasons voluntarily confessed, not for Religion, though at his death he professed the Romane Religion.

And for further maintenance of the coloured arguments wherwith I, and others my good, faithfull, and Catholike brethren are often troubled how to answer them, it is alleadged that the great number of gentlemen, and gentlewomen, ye, some of honourable calling, and of other meaner degrees, are

knowne

A multitude of gentlemen suspected to be Papists, yet never endangered of their lives.

knowne manifestly to be of a contrary Religion to the Lawes of the Realme, both neare the Court and far off, and yet they are never pursued by any forme of Law to put their lives in danger, or questioned, or imprisoned, for their opinions in Religion, whereby to bring them in any danger. Onely such as are presented or complained of by the Parishioners where they dwell, for never comming to any Church by the space of certaine months in a whole yeare, are thereof indited, and afterward being called to answer thereto, if they can shew no such lawfull excuse as the Law hath provided, they are then condemned to pay a penalty out of their goods and lands, if they have any, and not otherwise punished, nor yet by inquisition any of them examined of their faith. But yet say these defendors, if they shew themselves by their open deeds and facts to be reconciled from their allegiance & obedience to the queen, and that they will therein persist, then they are therwith charged and punished according to the Lawes therfore provided.

Many of the Priests that are sent into the Realme, are young rash, and of lewd life.

These arguments in their defence I doe not repeate as allowing of them, but yet surely they doe move me, and some others that are wise, to thinke, that indeed the rashnesse of divers comming secretly into the Realme, and professing themselves to be Priests, many of them being both very young, unlearned, and of light behaviour, hath done great harme to the goodnesse of our common cause; and if they and such others could have temperately and secretly instructed the people, and used more circumspection in their owne living and behaviour, there would have bin a greater increase of numbers perswaded in conscience to have joyned with us in our profession. Wherof I am the bolder to write to you my Lord, that you may confer with our countrey-men, that have accesse unto you, and that they also may deale with the Fathers of the Jesuites, that more care and choice be had of such English men as are hereafter to be sent into England, and not to send every yong man that hath more boldnesse, then learning and temperance, for such a function.

In the former part of this my declaration to you of the universall concurrence of all men of value, wealth and strength, in the body of the Realme, to serve and defend the Queen and the

the Realme. I forgot to report unto you the great numbers of ships of the subjects of the Realme; as of London, and other Port Townes, and Cities, that voluntarily this yeare were armed, able to make a full Navy of themselves for an army, and all at the proper costs of the Burgesses, for certaine moneths, with men, victuall, and munition, which did joyne with the Queens owne Navy all this Summer, a thing never in any former age heard of, otherwise then that such ships were alwayes hired, waged, and victualled by the Kings of the Realm, which argued to the griefe of me and some others a most vehement and unaccustomed affection and devotion in the Cities and Port Townes, such as they shewed themselves therin ready to fight, as it had been, *pro aris & focis.*

A great strength of the English Navy by the ships of the Port Townes that did serve without wages.

Of the number and strength of the Queenes owne ships of war, I thinke you have been sufficiently informed many times heretofore. But yet I will make you a true report of the state of them this present Summer, what I have credibly heard therof, because I have been very sorry to heare how you and others have been therein abused: And that not only in this matter of the Queens ships, but in some other things also of late, whereof some part hath been here by very many, maliciously, and in common speeches imputed to your owne invention and publication, whereof in a few words I will make some digression before I shall shew the estate of the Queens Navy.

In this Summer past, there was printed in *Paris* by your direction (as it was reported) a notable untruth, which I did see and reade, That the King of *Scots* had besieged *Barwicke*, and had won it by assault, and possessed it quietly, whereof no part was true, nor any cause to imagine the same, though I wish it had so been; but not for any good will that I now beare to that King, but for the trouble to this Queen. For in truth there is no good for us to be hoped for from the King of *Scots*, howsoever the Scottish Bishops in *France* have sought to make you beleeve otherwise, who is so rooted in the *Calvinists* Religion, as there is never hope that he can be recovered to the Church of Rome; and so I thinke you are of late duely informed, and by his violent actions against divers Catholikes, and against all that favour the Spaniards, may certainly appeare.

Two notable lyes printed in Paris, and imputed to Don Bernardin Mendoza.

A most manifest lye printed in Peru, of a Spanish victory, when it was altogether an English victory.

And likewise another great untruth was lately printed (as your enemies say) by your direction also in *Paris*, that now in July last when the Spanish Fleet and English had met and fought betwixt France and England, the Spaniards had then a great victory, wherein they had sunke the Lord Admirall of England, with sixteen of the Queens great ships into the bottome of the Seas, and that all the rest were driven to fly with the Vice-Admirall *Francis Drake*. Upon these two so notable untruths, which the adversaries spightfully called *Don Bernardin Mendozas mendacia*, many who honour you, were right sorry, that you should give so hasty credit to publish the same as (your enemies say) you did: though I have to my power for clearing of your honour given it out, that these and such like have proceeded of the lightnesse of the French, who commonly print more lies then truths, in such doubtfull times; and not of you, whose honour and wisedome I thought would not be justly touched with so great untruths and lies, considering alwayes, a small time will discover things that are in facts reported untruly, and bringeth the Authors to discredit and infamy. There hath been a speech also reported here, to have proceeded from you in *France*, that hath caused a great misliking of you in Scotland; which is, that you should in open assembly, and in a bravery say, that the young King of Scots (whom you called in your language a boy) had deceived the K. your master; but if the Kings Navy might prosper against *England*, the K. of Scots should lose his Crowne; and of this the King of Scots hath been advertised out of *France*, and useth very evill language of you, which I will not report.

Mendacia of Mendoza,

The state of the Navy of England this Summer.

But now to leave this digression, and to returne to let you know the truth of the state of the Queens Navy this Summer. The same was in the beginning of the yeare, when the bruit was brought of the readines of the Kings Armado in *Lisbone*, and of the army by land upon the Sea-coasts in *Flanders*, with their shipping, divided into three companies; the greatest under the charge of *Charles L. Haward* high Admirall of England, whose father, grandfather, uncles, great uncles, and other of his house, being of the noble house of the Dukes of Norfolk, had also been high Admirals afore him, whereof both France and Scotland have had proof.

L. Haward, L. Admirall,

Ano-

HOWARD Earl of NOTTINGHAM,
Lord High ADMIRAL.

Another company were appointed to remaine with the L. *Henry Seymour* second son to the Duke of Somerset that was Protector in King *Edwards* time, and brother to the Earle of Hartford; and these companies for a time continued in the narrow seas betwixt England and Flanders, under the charge of the said high Admirall, to attend on the Duke of *Parmas* actions. L. Hen. Seymour.

A third company were armed in the West part of England towards *Spain* under the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, a man by name, and fame known too too well to all Spain, and to the Kings *Indias*, and of great reputation in England; and this was compounded, partly of some of the Queens owne ships, and partly of the ships of the West parts. Sir Francis Drake

But after that it was certainly understood that the great Navy of *Spaine* was ready to come out from *Lisbone*, and that the fame thereof was blowne abroad in Christendome to be invincible, and so published by books in print: The Queen and all her Councell I am sure (whatsoever good countenance they made) were not a little perplexed, as looking certainly for a dangerous fight upon the Seas, and after that for a landing and invasion. Whereupon the Lord Admirall was commanded to saile with the greatest ships to the West of *England* towards *Spaine* to joyne with *Drake*, whom he made Vice-Admirall, and to continue in the Seas betwixt *France* and *England*, to stop the landing of the Navy of *Spaine*. And with the Lord Admirall went in certaine of the Queens ships, the Lord *Thomas Haward* second son to the last Duke of Norfolke, and the Lord *Sheffeld*, sonne to the Admirals sister, who is wife to the Queenes Embassadour in France, with a great number of Knights of great livelihood. And at that time the Lord *Henry Seymour* was left with a good number of ships in the narrow Seas, upon the coast of *Flanders* to attend on the Duke of Parma. L. Tho. Haward. L. Sheffeld.

Whilst these two Navies were thus divided, I confesse to you that I and others of our part secrerly made a full account that none of all these English ships durst abide the sight of the Armado of *Spaine*; or if they would abide any fight, yet they should all be sunke at the first encounter, For such constant

opinion we had conceived by the reports of the world, that the greatneſſe and the number of the ſhips, and the army of *Spaine*, being the choſen veſſell of all the Kings Dominions, was ſo exceſſive monſtrous, beyond all the Navies that ever had been ſeen in Chriſtendome (not excepting the Armado at *Lepanto*) that no power could abide in their way. But how far deceived we were therein, a very ſhort time, even the firſt day, did manifeſtly to the great diſhonour of *Spaine* diſcover. For when the Catholique army came to the coaſt of *England*, which indeed the Engliſh confeſſe did ſeeme far greater then they looked for, and that they were aſtonied with the ſight of them, yet the Lord *Admirall* and *Drake*, having but onely fifty of the Engliſh ſhips out of the haven of *Plimmouth*, where the reſt remained for a new revictualling, without tarrying for the reſt of the Navy that was in *Plimmouth*, they did offer preſent fight, and furiouſly purſued the whole Navy of *Spaine*, being above 160 ſhips: ſo as the ſame, with the furious and continuall ſhot of the Engliſh one whole day, fled without any returning. And after, the Engliſh Navy being increaſed to an hundred great and ſmall, renued their fight with terrible great ſhot all the whole day, gaining alwayes the wind of the Spaniſh Navy. And as I am ſorry to remember the particularities, which the Engliſh have largely written to their owne praiſe: ſo to ſpeake all in one word, for nine dayes together they ſtill forced them to flye, and deſtroyed, ſunke, and tooke in three dayes fight divers of the greateſt ſhips, out of which, eſpecially out of the principall great ſhip of *Andaluzia*, and out of the *Admiranta* of *Guipuſque*, and thirdly out of the principall great *Galliaſſe* of *Naples* great numbers were brought (beſide many moe killed and drowned) to *London*, and to ſundry other Ports of the Realme, to the great diſhonour of *Spain*, amongſt which priſoners were a great number of Captaines both for land and ſea. And beſides that, which deeply blemiſheth the honour of *Spaine*, and vexeth me at my heart, to conſider the inequalitie of fortune, it is vaunted by our adverſaries, that in all the time of theſe fights ſo many dayes, the Spaniards did never take, or ſinke any Engliſh ſhip or boat, or break any maſt, or tooke any one man priſoner. A matter that indeed theſe

The fight of the Engliſh Navy with the Spaniſh.

The flying away of the Spaniſh Navy.

The Spaniard priſoners ſay, that Chriſt ſhewed himſelfe a Lutheran in this Summer voyage of the Spaniſh Navy.

Spaniards which are taken doe marvell at greatly, and chafe thereat: ſo as ſome of them in their anguiſh of mind let not to ſay, that in all theſe fights Chriſt ſhewed himſelfe a *Lutheran.*

And though ſuch ſpeeches be unadviſed, and not to be regarded; yet ſurely it is moſt manifeſt, that in all this voyage from the comming of the Navy out of *Lisbone* even to this houre, God did ſhew no favour to ours any one day, as he did continually to theſe *Lutherans*; which, percaſe, may be done for our good, to correct us, as putting our truſt wholly in our worldly ſtrength, and to the confuſion hereafter of the *Lutherans*, by puffing them up, being his enemies, with proſperitie for a time, to be afterwards the cauſe of their ruine. And amongſt other things reported to the diſhonour of the Duke of *Medina*, who it is ſaid, was lodged in the bottome of his ſhip for ſafety, and to a great touch to the Commanders of the Spaniſh Navy, that they never would turne their ſhips, nor ſtay them, to defend any of their owne ſhips that were forced to tarry behind; but ſuffered divers to periſh, as are good witneſſes thereof: the three great veſſels: One wherein *Don Pedro de Valdez* was taken; another *Galleon* of *Guipuſque* that was ſpoyled with fire; and the noble *Gallieſſe* wherein *Hugo de Moncada* was ſlaine: Of which lacke of care by the Duke of *Medina*, theſe Spaniards that are taken give very ill report. The like is ſaid in *Zeland* by the Spaniards there, that were ſaved with *Diego de Pimentelli*, though the *Galleon* wherein he was being beaten with the Engliſh ſhot, and not ſuccoured by the Navy of *Spaine*, did there periſh in their comming to *Flusshing*, and ſo alſo did another likewiſe periſh for lacke of ſuccour before *Oſtend.*

God ſhewed no favour to the Spaniſh Navy from the beginning to the ending.

Don Pedro de Valdez, *Captaine Generall of the Armado of Andaluzia.*

Hugo de Moncada, *Generall of the Galliaſſes of Naples.*

Diego de Pimentelli, *Captain of the Galleon, named* S. Matthew.

And now I muſt needs thinke that you are ſtricken with ſome griefe of minde, or rather with ſome anger towards me, to heare from me ſo much of thoſe averſe things, although they are too true; and therefore I alſo imagine you may be deſirous for your better contentation, to underſtand what opinions we that are here have, being thus fruſtrate of our expected delivery, by the defeat of this enterpriſe: whether we doe comfort our ſelves with a conceit that this Action may be, by any

any probabilitie, once againe renewed this next yeare, for the recovery of our loſt hope this yeare, famouſly ſpoken of by the number of 88. and ſo verified to the loſſe of all Catholiques. Wherein ſurely for our owne parts, as by ſecret conference I find with many with whom I have ſecretly of late upon this unfortunate accident conferred, we cannot judge of any likelihood of good ſucceſſe for any long time; and if there ſhould any be hoped for, ſurely the Sea-forces of the King Catholique muſt of neceſſity be more increaſed, and better alſo governed then they were this yeare. For this we here doe conſider that this enterpriſe of invaſion and conqueſt, was alwayes principally grounded upon many probable opinions of the evill ſtate of the Realme.

A conſideration what may be done the next yeare to renew this action.

1. *The three hopes conceived againſt England, are now all fruſtrated.*

Firſt, of the weakneſſe of the Engliſh Navy; for ſo you know you were divers wayes this laſt yeare advertiſed from hence, and ſo alſo many of us here did conceive the ſame, wherein we ſee by all this yeares ſervice with theſe ſhips, we did all notably erre.

2. Next, of a ſuppoſed evill contentment of a number of people in this land to ſerve the Queene, and her Government, againſt her enemies.

3. Laſtly, and moſt principally, of a great ſtrong party that would be found here in the favour of us for the Catholique Religion, that ſhould take armes againſt the Queen upon the firſt ſight of the Catholique Navy on the coaſts of England. Of all which opinions, ſetled in good mens minds in maner of judgements, we know that none in the world did more conſtantly aſſure the King thereof then you; which, as the matters have evill ſucceeded, may I feare, bring you in danger of his indignation, although I know you meant very well therein.

And as theſe three opinions have all fayled this yeare, ſo I aſſure you, though ſome of ours on that ſide the Seas may perſiſt in their former opinions againſt the experience lately ſeen (as it is likely they may be forced to doe, to maintaine themſelves in credit, for continuing their neceſſary reliefe from the Pope, and the King, having no other meanes to keep them from ſtarving or begging) yet becauſe I would not have you further deceived by them, who have not been preſent in the Realme to

see such contrary proofes against all their conceits, as I and others have done. I will shew you a great number of manifest Arguments, though I am sorry at my heart to remember them, whereby you in your wisdome (if you be not blinded by others) shall see it most certaine, that these former opinions, for comfort to be had from hence, will prove the next yeare as strong against us, and in some part more strong then they proved this yeare, if any account shall be made thereof.

First, for the Navy of England, which hath this yeare to the sight of the world proved to be of great force and value for those Seas, and able to overmatch in their manner of fight, double to their number of the great *Gallions*, *Carikes*, *Galliasses*, or *Gallies*, it is certaine that it will be greatly increased this next yeare: For I know that within these few dayes, bargaines are already made, and Impreſt of money delivered, and certaine sent into the *Eastlands*, for great store of all maritime provisions. And as for the increase of the number of good ships for the Queens proper use, there is already a great quantity of timber ready, and order given to fell more in November and December next, in the countries near both to the Sea, and to *Thames*, to build a number of ships of war, equall to these whose service was seen this yeare to have overmatched the great Armados, and Castles of *Spaine* and *Italy*. And furthermore, to joyne with the Navy of *England* this yeare following, not only the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, but also ships of *Denmarke*, and other parts of *Eastland*, will certainly be had in great numbers, whereof there was none at all required this yeare past to joyn with the Navy of *England*. Onely certaine *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* offered their service (according as they are bound) in the end of this Summer, since the conflict near *Callice*, to joyne with some of the English Navy in the narrow Seas, to defend the issuing of the Duke of *Parma* out of the Ports of Flanders; and in that service at this time there are above forty and six good ships of warre, with the Vice-Admirall, *Justinian* of *Nassau*, a man that agreeth too well with the English Nation, and is a sworne enemy to all Spaniards and Catholiques: And as it is reported for certaine, there are sixty more comming out of *North-Holland* to the Seas for the same purpose: so as it is to be

The English Navy will be stronger the next yeare.

Offer of Hollanders and Zelanders to joyne with the English Navy.

Iustinian Nassau Admirall of Holland, with 46. ships of warr joyned to the English Navy, against the Duke of Parma.

be doubted that this Realme, this next yeare, will be double as ſtrong as it was this laſt yeare.

Arguments to prove no miſcontentment of the people towards the Queen.

As to the ſecond branch of our hope, depending upon opinion of ſome great miſcontentment of ſundry perſons againſt the Queene, the proofe of the contrary ſo appeared this yeare, both of her actions to maintain the liking of all her people, and of the generall earneſt devotion ſhewed to her by all eſtates, noble and meane, rich and poore, as I thinke no Prince chriſtened ever had greater cauſe of comfort in her people, which I may judge to breed a pride in her. And to recompence the ſame, ſhe did moſt notably ſhew her ſelfe in this time, even when moſt danger was threatened, in all her actions towards her people, as carefull for their weale, and for the ſafety of her Realme, without any ſpeciall or particular proviſion, or regard to her owne perſon, as ever any Prince could doe. Firſt, to let her people underſtand what care ſhe had to make her Realme ſtrong againſt invaſion, ſhe politikely, yea moſt carefully, by her owne frequent directions, cauſed her whole Realme to be put in armes, ſhe tooke account thereof her ſelfe by monethly certificate from ſuch as were made her Lievtenants in every ſhire of her Realme; ſhe cauſed armour, pouder, weapon, to be ſent to all countries, and ordnance to all maritine countries: There were alſo ſundry armies deſcribed, to defend every coaſt of the Sea; and as I heard it reported by ſome that did know the ſecrets of the Court, was importunate with her Councell to leave no day unoccupied, to bring theſe ſervices to effect, and yet ſhe did ſtill continue her Commiſſioners in the Low Countries to treat of peace, which ſurely ſhe deſired to have obtained, ſo that ſhe might have had the ſame with certaine conditions. So as to content her people, ſhe did both treat and deſire peace, and did not in the meane time neglect to make her Realme ſtrong for defence, if peace could not be gotten. But in the end, when her demands were wholly refuſed (whereof we and all Catholiques were moſt glad) and that ſhe underſtood very certainly, that the army of the Duke of *Parma* ſhould come firſt to deſtroy the City of *London*, ſhe revoked her Commiſſioners, approached *London* in perſon, and did lie (as it were) in the Suburbs of the ſame: whereby

The providence of the Queene to make her Realme ſtrong.

they

Quen: Eliz: Riding in Triumph through London in a Chariot drawn by two Horses and all ye Companies attending her w.th their Banners.

they of the City took great comfort, having daily in shew and muster of their owne ten thousand men armed, and trained of very able men of the City, and in readinesse thirty thousand more able to fight.

The Queene being in the army in Essex when most danger was threatened by the enemies landing.

She caused also an army to be brought to incamp neare the Sea side, upon the river of *Thames*, betwixt the Sea and the City, 20 miles beneath the City; and after the army was come thither, she would not by any advise be stayed, but for comfort of her people, and to shew her owne magnanimity of heart (as she said, she would so doe though she was a woman) she went to that army lying betwixt the City and the Sea) under the charge of the Earle of *Leicester*, placing her selfe betwixt the enemy and her City, and there viewed her army, and passed through it divers times, lodged in the borders of it, returned againe, and dined in the army: And first, saw the people as they were, by their countries, lodged and quartered in their severall camps, which she viewed from place to place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into battels, ready (as it were) to fight with any enemy, she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied onely but with the Generall, and three or foure others attending on her: But yet to shew her state, I well marked it, she had the sword carried before her by the Earle of *Ormond*.

The vnuable applause of the people to the Queene for her presence in the camp.

There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readinesse and willingnesse to fight for her, as seldome hath been seen in a camp and army, considering she was a Queene, and all tended to shew a marvellous concord, in a mutuall love betwixt a Queene and her subjects; and of reverence, and obedience of subjects to a Soveraign: All which she acquited with very princely thanks, and good speeches. I could inlarge this description with many moe particularities of mine owne sight, for thither I went, as many others did; and all that day, wandring from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person, and princely behaviour; and in praying for her life and safety, and cursing of all her enemies, both traitors, and all Papists, with earnest desire to venture their lives for her safety.

The singing of Psalmes by the English army in the camp.

And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter, did devoutely at certaine times sing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers Psalmes put into forme of Prayers in praise of Almighty God, no wayes to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I doe not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that neither this Queene doth discontent her people, nor her people doe shew any discontentation in any thing that they be commanded to doe for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined. She had also an army of about forty thousand footmen, and of six thousand horsemen, under the charge of the Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain, as Lievtenant of that army, made ready from the Inland parts of the Realme, to be about her owne person, without disarming the maritine counties: so as many marched out of sundry countries towards her, at the very time that she was in the camp; some came to the suburbs and townes neare *London*, whom she remaunded to their countries, because their harvest was at hand, and many of them would not be countermanded, but still approached on ward on their owne charges (as they said) to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the Realme. But though the greatest number of the said souldiers were compelled to return, yet the Captains, Leaders, and the principall Knights and Gentlemen came to the Court to offer their service, and those were graciously accepted of her with many thanks, and are now for the more part returned with a full determination and firme promise, to continue their Bands in such readinesse, as upon a few houres warning they will assuredly returne with them in good array.

An army provided for the Queen, beside the army ready to withstand the landing of the enemy.

Beside these foresaid arguments, to disprove the opinion of discontentment of the people, which heretofore hath been thought a great furtherance to this honourable action, I will also remember you some other more notable actions, to prove both contentation and readinesse, in all the Nobilitie of the Realme at this time, that were not tyed to abide in their countries by reason of their offices, as Lieutenants and Governours there for martiall services. For as soone as it was heard that the

Queen

Queene was come neare London, and that the armies were in gathering to come out of the countries, for defence of all Invasions, and reports brought from the sea coasts of the appearance of the Spanish Navy; all the Noblemen in the Realme, from East and West, from North and South, excepting onely such great Lords as had speciall Governments in countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their charge, and some few that were not able to make forces according to their desire, came to the Queene, bringing with them according to their degrees, and to the uttermost of their powers, goodly bands of horsemen, both launces, light horsemen, and such other as are termed *Carabins* or *Argeletiers*, lodging their bands round about *London*, and maintaining them in pay at their own charges all the time, untill the Navy of *Spain* was certainly known to be passed beyond *Scotland*. And of these Noblemen many shewed their bands of their horsemen, before the Queene even in the fields afore her own gate, to the great marvell of men of good judgement (as I heard reported) for that the number of them was so great, and so well armed and horsed, as knowing that they were no parcell of the numbers of horsemen limited in every countrey, and put into bands with the armies described, it was thought before they were seen, that there had not been so many spare horses of such valour in the whole Realm, excepting the North part of *England* towards *Scotland*, whose forces consist chiefly of horsemen.

Great power of horsmen brought by the Nobility to attend on the Queens person.

The first that shewed his bands to the Queen, was that noble, vertuous, honorable man, the Viscount *Mountagne*, who howsoever men doe judge of him for opinion in Religion, yet to tell you the truth, he is reported alwayes to have professed, as now also at this time he did professe and protest solemnly, both to the Queen, and to all her Court, in open assemblies, that he now came, though he was very sickly, and in age, with a full resolution to live and dye in defence of the Queene, and of his countrey, against all invaders, whether it were Pope, King or Potentate whatsoever, and in that quarrell he would hazard his life, his children, his lands & goods: And to shew his mind agreeable therto, he came personally himself before the Queen, with his band of horsemen being almost two hundred: the same

The Viscount Mountagues shew of horsemen was the first.

ſame being led by his own ſons, and with them a young childe very comely ſeated on horſ-back, being the heire of his houſe, that is, the eldeſt ſon to his ſon and heir: a matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend the ſame, to ſee a grandfather, father and ſon, at one time on horſ-back afore a Queen for her ſervice, though in truth I was ſorry to ſee our Adverſaries ſo greatly pleaſed therwith. But I cannot conceale it from your Lordſhips knowledge, becauſe I think this Nobleman is known unto you, having bin uſed as an Embaſſadour to the King Catholik many years paſt by this Queen (as I have heard) to require confirmation of the treaties of amity, betwixt both their Fathers. And of this Noblemans conditions, I thinke there be ſome others, of whom there is no account to be made that they will give favour to any attempt againſt the Queen, or to any invaſion of the Realme.

A number of great Lords ſhewed their horſmen.

There were alſo many at the ſame time that made ſhews of great numbers of ſerviceable horſes, wherof though it be no comfort to you to heare, yet it is good that you be not abuſed for lacke of knowledge, how the preſent ſtate is here: that you may better judge hereafter what may be done to recover this late loſſe and diſhonour. At this time the *Earle of Lincolne* and the *Lord Windeſore*, with ſome Knights and Gentlemen with them ſhewed their Bands, as the *Lord Mountague* had done: and after them the *Lord Chancelour* ſhewed goodly Bands of horſmen and footmen at his own houſe, very many and ſtrong. And within one or two days after, the *Earle of Warwicke*, the *Lord Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, the *Lord Compton*, and in the end of the day the *Earle of Leiceſter*, and the *Lord Rich*, beſides ſundry Knights of the Realme, ſhewed every of them ſeverall ſtrong bands of horſmen, to the great liking of the Queen, and of all the people that were there, being many thouſands. And within two days after that the *Earle of Eſſex* being Maſter of the Queens horſe, with certain principall Gentlemen his ſervants, friends and followers, ſhewed afore the Queen above three hundred horſes of all ſervice, and a great number of *Carabins*, and a faire Band of footmen all Muskettiers.

Earle of Lincolne.
L. Windeſor.

L. Chancelour.

Earle of Warwick
L. Treaſurer.
L. Compton
Earle of Leyceſter
L. Rich.
S. Walt: Mildmay
S. Hen. Cromwell
S. Iohn Points.

Earle of Eſſex *with a great band of horſ-men and footmen afore the Queen at St. Iames.*

This ſhew exceeded in number any other particular Band, and the Earle himſelf with a great number of Launces, horſed

and

and armed, did run very many courſes, and ſpecially with the *Earle of Cumberland*, as they call it, *the Courſe of the field*, which I had never ſeen before: and did alſo himſelf, and his company *Tourney* on horſ-back a very long time, and cauſed alſo his *Carabines*, and his footmen to make many skirmiſhes there, to the great liking of the Queen & of the multitude of people, which were many thouſands. Amongſt whom I heard many vehement ſpeeches againſt all Engliſh Papiſts, calling them all Traitors, wiſhing alſo that the *Spaniards* had bin there in that field with treble the number, to make proof of the value of Engliſh-men: all which I heard to my great grief, with many curſes againſt all their countrimen, ſaying that they as arrant traitors to their native country had villanouſly ſold, as far as in them did lie, the liberty of their country to *Spaniards* and other Papiſts. It behoved me not there to have contraried any of them, for ſurely if I had, their rancour was ſo ſtirred up, by the comfort of theſe fair ſhews of horſ-men, as they would there in the field in their rage have killed me, and cut me in a thouſand peeces.

Courſe at the field.

Tourney.

Beſides theſe Lords above named, there were brought to the town, other fair Bands by the Earle of *Worceſter*, the Earle of *Hertford*, the Lord *Audeley*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Dacres*, Lord *Lomely*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Lord *Sturton*, Lord *Darcy*, Lord *Sands*, Lord *Mordant*, and by every one that were of the privy Councell; ſo as by eſtimation, there were about London at that time, above five thouſand horſes ready to ſerve the Queen, beſides all the horſmen that were raiſed in all other Countries for the Armies and the Sea coaſts. And beſides theſe, I heard in a very good place, where I was ſilent, that there was by account twiſe as many in readineſſe with the Noblemen that were abſent, attending on their charges in their ſeverall Lieutenancies. As the *Marques* of *Wincheſter*, one counted to be the ſtrongeſt man of his own furniture for Horſe and armour, who is Lieutenant of *Hampſhire*, with the Earle of *Suſſex* Captaine of *Porteſmouth*, and Lieutenant alſo of *Dorcetſhire*. Next to him is in account the Earle of *Shrewsbury* Earle *Marſhall* of England, Lieutenant of a great number of Countries, and of great power of his own, both for horſmen and footmen, beſide the power of the Lord *Talbot* his ſon. The Earle of *Darby* alſo, though

Earle of Worceſter.
Earle of Hertford
L. Audley.
L. Morley.
L. Dacres.
L. Lomeley.
L. Mountjoy.
L. Sturton.
L. Darcy.
L. Sands.
L. Mordant.

Marques of Wincheſter.

Earle of Suſſex.

Earle of Shrowſbury.

L. Talbot.

though he was in Flanders, from whence he came lately, yet his son the Lord *Strange*, Lieutenant of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* in his fathers absence, is said to have raised a great power of horse-men. And to shew the popular affection to this Earle in his country, I heard it for certaine reported, that when the Earle continued longer in *Flanders* then they liked, and doubting of his return, for that they supposed that the Duke of *Parma* would stay him and the other Commissioners there, the people of his Country in a generality did amongst themselvs determine, that the Lord *Strange* the Earls son, and all the manhood of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* would go over the Seas and fetch the Earle home. A matter for no purpose to be spoken of, but to note the force of the love which the people do beare to the Earle, who with his son is firmly bent against the Pope.

Earle of Darby.
L. Strange.

Earle of Bath.

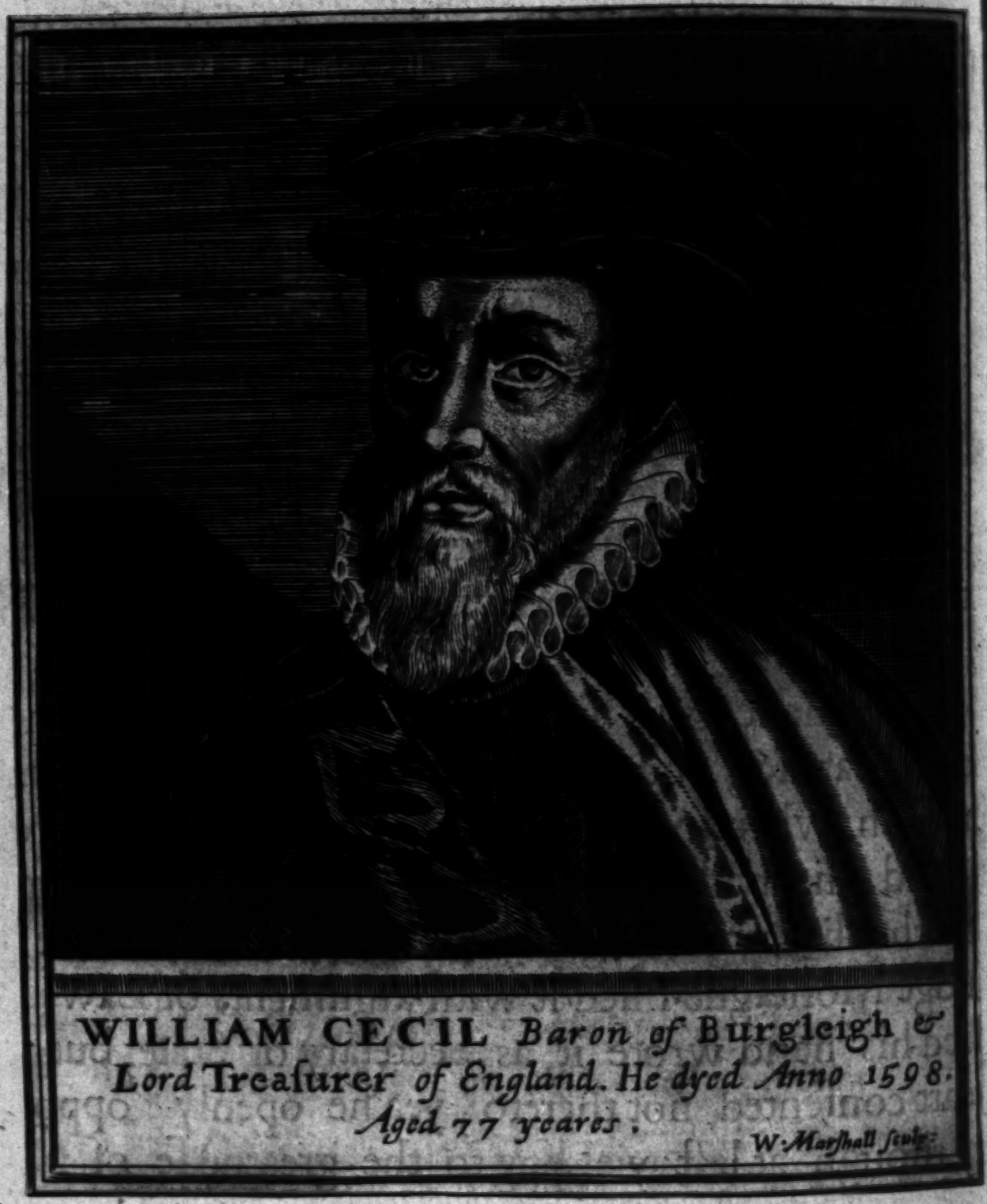
The Earle of *Bath* also Lieutenant of *Devonshire*, had as is said, great forces of his own ready to have impeached the landing of any strangers in *Devonshire*. The Earle of *Pembrooke* also being Lieutenant of *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, and Lord President of all *Wales*, was ready to have come to the Queen with three hundred horsmen, and five hundred footmen all of his own retinue, leaving all the Countries under his charge fully furnished.

Earle of Pembroks noble offer.

Earle of Northumberland.
Earle of Cumberland.

I omit here to speake of the Bands of horse-men, belonging to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, which though they were ready to have bin shewed at the same time; yet the Earls hearing of the Spanish Army approaching, went voluntarily to the Sea side in all hast, and came to the Queens Navy before the fight afore Callice. Where they being in severall ships of the Queens, did with their own persons valiant services against the Kings Armado. And to shew the great readines in a generality of sundry others at the same time, to adventure their lives in the said service; there went to the Seas at the same time divers Gentlemen of good reputation, who voluntarily without any charge, and without knowledge of the Queen, put themselves into the Queens Navy in sundry ships, wherin they served at the fight afore *Callice*; of which number being very great, I remember that the names of some of them

were



WILLIAM CECIL *Baron of* Burgleigh & *Lord* Treaſurer *of England. He dyed Anno* 1598. *Aged* 77 *yeares.*

W. Marſhall ſculp:

ROBERTUS DUDLEUS, COMES
LEYCESTRIÆ, BARO DENBIG.
GUBERNATOR BELGARUM.

were these, M. *Henry Brooke* son and heir to the Lord *Cobham*, M. Henry Brooke.
Sir *Thomas Cecil* son and heir to the Lord Treasurer, Sir *William* Sir Tho Cecil.
Hatton heir to the Lord Chancellour, Sir *Horatio Pallavicino* a Sir Wil. Hatton.
Knight of *Genua*, Master *Robert Cary* son to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir Horatio Pallavicino.
Sir *Charles Blunt*, brother to the Lord *Mountjoy*. But much M. Robert Cary.
speech is of two Gentlemen of the Court that went to the Na- Sir Charles Blunt
vy at the same time, whose names are *Thomas Gerard* and *Wil-* M. Tho. Gerard.
liam Hervy, to me not known, but now here about London M. Wil. Harry.
spoken of with great fame. These two adventured out of ship
boat to scale the great *Galliasse* wherin *Moncada* was, and en-
tred the same only with their Rapiers; a matter commonly
spoken, that never the like was hazarded afore, considering the
height of the *Galliasse* compared to a ship boat.

And yet to make it more manifest, how earnest all sorts
of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were to adventure their lives in Earle of Oxford.
this service, it is reported that the Earle of *Oxford*, who is one
of the most ancient Earles of this land, went also to the Sea, to
serve in the Queens Army. There went also for the same pur-
pose, a second son of the Lord *Treasurer*, called as I can remem-
ber *Robert Cecil*; there went also about that time to the Seas, M. Robert Cecil.
the Lord *Dudley* an ancient Baron of the Realm, and Sir *Walter* L. Dudley.
Rawlegh a Gentleman of the Queens privy Chamber, & in his S. Wal. Rawlegh.
company a great number of young Gentlemen, amongst
whom I remember the names of the heir of Sir *Thomas Cecil*, M. Wil. Cecil.
called *William Cecil*, of *Edward Darcy*, *Arthur Gorge*, and such M. Edward Darcy
others: with the rehearsall of whom I doe not comfort my M. Arthur Gorge.
self, but only to shew you, how farr we have bin deceived, to
think that we should have had a party here for us, when as you
see both by land and by sea, all sorts of men were so ready of
their own charges, without either commandment or enter-
tainment, to adventure their lives in defence of the Queen and
the Realm.

And for the Earle of *Huntingtons* forces, being Lieutenant Earle of Hunting-
General in the North, it is reported, that he hath put in readines ton.
for an Army in *Yorkshire*, and other countries commonly limi-
ted to serve against *Scotland*, to the number of fourty thou-
sand well armed footmen, and near hand ten thousand horsmen
to come to him if any occasion of Invasion should be in the

North

ROBERTUS DUDLEUS, COMES
LEYCESTRIÆ, BARO DENBIG.
GUBERNATOR BELGARUM.

were these, M. *Henry Brooke* son and heir to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Cecil* son and heir to the Lord Treasurer, Sir *William Hatton* heir to the Lord Chancellour, Sir *Horatio Pallavicino* a Knight of *Genua*, Master *Robert Cary* son to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, brother to the Lord *Mountjoy*. But much speech is of two Gentlemen of the Court that went to the Navy at the same time, whose names are *Thomas Gerard* and *William Hervy*, to me not known, but now here about London spoken of with great fame. These two adventured out of ship boat to scale the great *Galliasse* wherin *Moncada* was, and entred the same only with their Rapiers; a matter commonly spoken, that never the like was hazarded afore, considering the height of the *Galliasse* compared to a ship boat.

M. Henry Brooke.
Sir Tho Cecil.
Sir Wil. Hatton.
Sir Horatio Pallavicino.
M. Robert Cary.
Sir Charles Blunt
M. Tho. Gerard.
M. Wil. Herry.

And yet to make it more manifest, how earnest all sorts of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were to adventure their lives in this service, it is reported that the Earle of *Oxford*, who is one of the most ancient Earles of this land, went also to the Sea, to serve in the Queens Army. There went also for the same purpose, a second son of the Lord *Treasurer*, called as I can remember *Robert Cecil*; there went also about that time to the Seas, the Lord *Dudley* an ancient Baron of the Realm, and Sir *Walter Rawlegh* a Gentleman of the Queens privy Chamber, & in his company a great number of young Gentlemen, amongst whom I remember the names of the heir of Sir *Thomas Cecil*, called *William Cecil*, of *Edward Darcy*, *Arthur Gorge*, and such others: with the rehearsall of whom I doe not comfort my self, but only to shew you, how farr we have bin deceived, to think that we should have had a party here for us, when as you see both by land and by Sea, all sorts of men were so ready of their own charges, without either commandment or entertainment, to adventure their lives in defence of the Queen and the Realm.

Earle of Oxford.
M. Robert Cecil.
L. Dudley.
S. Wal. Rawlegh.
M. Wil. Cecil.
M. Edward Darcy
M. Arthur Gorge.

And for the Earle of *Huntingtons* forces, being Lieutenant General in the North, it is reported, that he hath put in readines for an Army in *Yorkshire*, and other countries commonly limited to serve against *Scotland*, to the number of fourty thousand well armed footmen, and near hand ten thousand horsmen to come to him if any occasion of Invasion should be in the North

Earle of Huntington.

L. Scroope.
L. Darcy.
L. Evers.

North parts: to whom are joyned with their forces 3 Lords in the North, the Lord *Scroop*, Lord *Darcy*, and Lord *Evers*.

There are also divers other Lords that are Lieutenants of countries, that have in readinesse of their proper charges good numbers of horsemen. As the Earle of *Kent*, Lieutenant of *Bedford-shire*, the L. *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlaine, Lieutenant of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*; the L. *Cobham*, Lieutenant of *Kent*; the L. *Gray* of *Buckingham-shire*; the L. *North* of *Cambridge-shire*; L. *Chandos* of *Glocester-shire*; L. S. *Iohn* of *Huntington-shire*; L. *Buckhurst* of *Sussex*: And so by this particular recitall not unmeet for your knowledge, it is to be noted what disposition the Nobility of the Realme had at this time to have withstood all invasion. And if percase you shall peruse your ordinary Catalogue of the great Lords of the Realme, you shall find that these are the substance of all the great Lords, saving three young Earles within age, *Rutland*, *South-hampton*, and *Bedford*: all three brought up in perverse Religion. And so remaineth to be spoken of, the Earle of *Arundell*, who is in the Tower for attempting to have fled out of the Realme by provocation of him, that now is Cardinall *Allen*; who, howsoever he may be affected to the Catholique Religion, yet I heare most certainly that he offereth his life in defence of the Queene against all the world.

Earle of Kent.
L. Hunsdon.
L. Cobham.
L. Grave.
L. North.
L. Chandos.
L. St. Iohn.
L. Buckhurst.

Earle of Rutland.
Earle of South-hampton
Earle of Bedford.

And where account was made to have a party in this Realm, which by these former relations appeare could nor be possible, the whole Nobility being assured to the Queen, and the force of the people not violently bent that way. In this very time was offered to the Queene as great a party for her, to come to her service, and defence of the Realme, as out of all Christendome she could not have to all respects a stronger. Which was the King of *Scots*, who hearing of the intended invasion of the Realme, sent a Gentleman to the Queene, with his letter, as I credibly heard, to offer her all the power that he had to defend her and her Realme; and if she so would, he would come in his own person, and hazard his own life, to defend this Realme against all invaders for Religion, or any other pretence whatsoever. So by this you may see what account may be made of any vain promises made in the name of this King. And because you

Offer of the King of Scots to the Queen of England.

shall

shall perceive that I have good meanes to have intelligence of any other forces of the Realme for defence thereof, it is most certain as I heare, and I have seen a List or Roll of a great number both of horsemen and footmen, which the Bishops of the Realme have of their owne charges, with the contribution of the Clergy, raised up in bands of horsemen and footmen, which are to be led by noble Gentlemen at the Queenes nomination; and these bands must be vainly termed, *Milites Sacri.*

Bands of horsemen and footmen erected by the Bishops.

As to the last point of the three foundations of the principall hope conceived, wherupon the invasion was chiefly grounded and taken in hand, which was most certainly and generally beleeved, that there should be found here in the realm a strong party of Catholiques, against the Queen to joyne and assist the invaders, upon the appearing of the Spanish Navy. By my former relations of the generall great and fervent love of the people towards the Queene, and of the great offers of service now made by the whole Nobility of the Realme, this their foundation may appeare to have been wrong laid, onely by imaginations, as it were upon a quick-sand, or rather as flying in the ayre. And yet it appeareth very truly that no small account was made hereof by the K. of *Spain*, and by his principall Ministers; for there is nothing at this present more universally, with one lamentable voyce spoken of, by all the multitude of the Spaniards, now here prisoners; yea by the chiefest of them, then that they now evidently see, that the King their Master was with such informations greatly abused, yea rather betrayed. For they say there was no man of value in all this army, but he heard it constantly affirmed, and so delivered for comfort of all that served therein, before they were shipped, that they should not be afraid of any resistance to land in *England*, for that there was good assurance given to the King, that they should finde a strong army of Catholiques ready in their favour, as soon as ever their Navy should be seen upon the Sea-coast, and so they all here say, they were encouraged to come to this journey; otherwise, many of them sweare they would never have come on ship-boord: so unlikely they say it was, and against all reason, to invade a Realme, with opinion to conquer it, without both some title of right, and a party also; but specially without a good sure party.

The third and last hope which the Catholikes had of a party in the Realme, was all frustrate.

The Spanish prisoners condemne the Kings purpose, as being abused by the exiled Catholiques, whom the Spaniards call traitors to their country.

No possibility to invade and conquer a Realme, without favour of a party inward.

The Spaniſh priſoners condemne the enterpriſe & courſe of Don Bernardin *of* Mendoza.

And therefore now finding this report very falſe, many of theſe priſoners do by name curſe you, as being the Kings Embaſſadour; as him, they ſay, who upon the opinion of the knowledge which you had gotten in *England*, was therein more credited then any other, and had theſe many yeares together tempted the King their Maſter, upon hope, and other ſuch like perſwaſions, to attempt ſuch a matter as this was, being utterly in all wiſedome to have been condemned, without ſome certainty of this latter part, ſpecially to have had a ſtrong party here. They alſo curſe all ſuch Engliſh-men as have fled out of this countrey, whom they ſpare not to call arrant traitors, for offering the ſale of their countrey to the Pope and the King of *Spaine*. And theſe priſoners adde alſo, that they were borne in hand, that this countrey was ſo open to march in, and ſo weak to withſtand any force, and the people ſo miſerable, as they thought the conqueſt thereof had been of no more difficulty then the overcomming of a number of naked *Indians* was at the beginning of the conqueſt thereof by King *Ferdinand*.

And now for ſtrength of this countrey and people, many of theſe priſoners having bin brought from the Sea-coaſts hither to *London*, whereby they have obſerved the countrey and the people, doe ſpeak marvellouſly thereof, counting the ſame invincible, otherwiſe then by treaſon of ſome great party within the Realme. But whether all theſe ſpeeches which are commonly reported of them proceed from their hearts, or that they ſpeake thus to pleaſe the Engliſh, becauſe they are well uſed by them, who alſo are eaſily deceived with flattery, I know not; but ſure I am they doe thus ſpeake daily, with outward ſhew of great paſſions againſt ſuch as have been perſwaders to the King for this journy. Divers of them alſo which are of good judgment, and have heard of ſuch of the Engliſh baniſhed men, as have bin in *Spain*, and have knowne ſome of them there (as of long time Sir *Francis Engleſield*, and of late the L. *Paget* and his brother) have curiouſly enquired of what power they were, and credit here to have a party. They alſo enquired of the Earle of *Weſtmerland*, although of him they confeſſe he is a man but of ſmall government. But our adverſaries here have ſo abaſed theſe and all the reſt to have been of no credit, to car-

Sir Francis Engleſield. Lord Paget.

Earle of Weſtmerland.

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ry any numbers of men, but by the Queenes authority when they were at their best: As the prisoners wonder how the king could be so deceived to give them pensions, otherwise then for charity, because of their Religion. But they confesse they have often heard in *Spaine*, how the King was once notably deceived, when one *Tho. Stukely* a private English man, that fled out of *Ireland* for debt, and other lewd actions into *Spaine*, and not being worth one penny, his debts being paid, but the second son of a mean Gentleman, pretended, & was beleeved in *Spain*, so (by entituling of himself) to be a *Duke*, a *Marquesse*, and an Earle of *Ireland*; and so was a long time entertained, as a man that could doe great service against the Q. of England, untill at length the King understood his falshood, and so banished him out of *Spaine*; and repairing to *Rome*, he was by the Pope also maintained for a time, untill he was discovered even by some good Catholiques, that could not endure the Popes holinesse to be so grossely mocked; of whom some of the prisoners using merry speeches, how both the Emperor *Charles*, and afterward this King & the Pope, were so notably deceived by this *Stukely*, doe conclude merely, that they think some of these English that have thus abused the King, have followed *Stukelyes* steps. And in very truth, I and many others have bin very often ashamed to heare so broad speeches of the King and the Pope, yea of the Emperour *Charles*, whom such a companion as *Stukeley* was, could so notably deceive; and the more to be marvelled it was, how he could deceive the King Catholique, considering he was known to many of his Councell, at the Kings being in *England*, to have bin but a vaunting beggar, and a Ruffian, and afterwards a pyrat against the Spaniards.

Thomas Stukeleyes abusing of the King of Spain, and the Pope, newly remembred by the Spaniards.

Now my Lord Embassadour, by these my large relations of the things evill past, and of the opinions of such as I have lately dealt withall, with mine owne conceit also, which I doe not vainly imagine, your Lordship may see in the first part, our present calamity, and miserable estate: In the second part, the state of this Queene, her Realme, her people, their minds, their strength, so far contrary to the expectation of the Popes Hollinesse, the King Catholique, and specially of you (my Lord) and all others, that have been in hand these many yeares with this

A conclusion by the writer, to perswade another course, not by violence.

action, as I know not what course shall, or may be thought meet to take, seeing it is seen by experience, that by force our cause cannot be relieved. Neither will any change amend the matter when this Queen shall end her dayes (as all Princes are mortall) for both the universalitie of the people through the Realme, are so firmely and desperately bent against our Religion, as nothing can prevaile against their united forces. And whosoever shall by right succeed to this Crowne after the Queen (who is likely to live as long as any King in Christendome) if the Crowne should come to the K. of *Scots*, or to any other of the bloud royall, as there are very many within this Realme descended both of the Royall houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. There is no account to be made, but every one of them that now live at this day, are knowne to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the authority of the Pope, as any of the most earnest Protestant or heretick in the world. So as to conclude, after all circumstances well considered, for the present I know no other way, but to commit the cause to Almighty God, and to all the Saints in heaven, with our continuall prayers; and in earth to the holy Counsels of the Pope, and his Cardinals, with our supplications to relieve the afflicted number of our exiled brethren, and to send into the Realme, discreet, holy, and learned men, that may only in secret manner without in intermedling in matters of estate, by teaching us, confirme us in our faith, and gaine with charitable instruction, others that are not rooted in heresie.

No hope for furtherance of the Popes authority by any now living that may succeed the Queen in the line Royall.

A conclusion what is best to maintaine the Catholike Religion in England.

And for relief of such as are forced to pay yearly great sums of money out of their revenue, because they forbeare to come to the Church, it were to be charitably considered, whether there might not be some dispensation from the Popes holines, for some few yeares, to tolerate their comming to the Church without changing of their faith, considering a great number doe stand therein, not for any thing (as they say) used in this Church, that is directly contrary to Gods Law; but for that the Rites and prayers (though they are collected out of the body of the Scripture) are not allowed by the Catholique Church, and the head thereof, which is the Popes Holinesse: And for that cause justly, all true Catholiques account this

A tolleration from the Pope for the Recusants in England

Church

Church to be schismaticall. By which remedy of tolleration, a great number of such as will be perpetually Catholiques, might enjoy their livings and liberty, and in processe of time the Catholique Religion (by Gods goodnesse) might with more surety be increased, to the honour of God, then ever it can be by any force whatsoever. For so did all Christian Religion at the first begin, and spread it selfe over the world; not by force, but only by teaching, and example of holinesse in the teachers, against all humane forces. And so I will end my long letters with the sentence which K. *David* used foure times in one of his Psalmes: *Et clamaverunt ad Dominum in tribulatione eorum, & de angustia eorum liberavit eos.* And so must we make that for our foundation to lay our hope upon, for all other hopes are vain and false.

At London the of August, 1588.

AFter that I had made an end of this my letter, which I found by perusall thereof to have bin at more length then I looked for, although the matters therein contained did draw me thereto, and that I had made choice of a friend of mine who had more knowledge in the French tongue then I, to turne the same into French My mishap was, that when he had done some part thereof, he fell sicke of a burning fever, where-by my letter remained with him upon hope of recovery for ten or twelve dayes, and seeing no hope thereof, I intreated another very trusty and a sound Catholique, having perfect knowledge in the French tongue, who took upon him to put it into French, wherein was also longer time spent: so as my letter being written in the midst of August, I am forced to end it in September. And therupon I thought good, whiles my former letter was in translating, to adde some things happened in the mean time meet for your knowledge.

About the seventh of August, the L. Admirall returned with the Navy, having followed the Spanish Navy (as they reported) as far as the 55 degree Northwards; the Spanish Navy taking a course either to the furthest parts of *Norwey*, or to the *Orcades* beyond *Scotland*; which if they did, then it was here judged that they would goe about *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but if they

they could recover provisions of masts, whereof the English Navy had made great spoyle, they might returne. But I for my part wished them a prosperous wind to passe home about *Ireland*, considering I despaired of their return for many respects, both of their wants, which could not be furnished in *Norwey*, and of the lacke of the Duke of *Parmas* ability to bring his army on the Sea for want of mariners. Nevertheless, upon knowledge from *Scotland* that they were beyond the *Orcades*, and that the King of *Scots* had given strict commandement upon all the Sea-coasts, that the Spaniards should not be suffered to land in any part, but that the English might land and be relieved of any wants: order was given to discharge all the Navy, saving twenty ships that were under the L. *Henry Seymours* charge, to attend upon the Duke of *Parmas* attempts, either towards *England*, which was most unlikely, or toward *Zeland*, which began to be doubted. But within three or foure dayes after this, suddenly there came report to the Court, that the Spanish Navy had refreshed it selfe in the Islands beyond the *Orcades*, both with water plentifully, and with bread, fish and flesh, as for their money they could get, and would returne hither once againe, to attend on the Duke of *Parmas* army, to conduct it by Sea into *England*. Whereupon grew some new busines here, wherewith I know the Queen and her Councell was not a little perplexed what to doe; but in the end, order was given to stay the disarming of her Navy, and so the whole Navy was very speedily made ready againe, only upon the former reports: wherewith I and many others were very glad, to see them thus newly troubled, and upon every light report put to great charges. But this lasted not past eight or ten dayes, for upon more certain knowledge by two or three Pinnaces, that were sent to discover where the Spanish fleet was, which certified that they were beyond the *Orcades*, sayling towards the West, in very evill case, having many of their people dead in those North parts, and in great distresse for lacke of masts, and also of mariners. A new commandement was given to dissolve the Navy, saving that which should attend on the Duke of *Parma*; and so the Lord Admirall returned with the L. *Thomas Howard*, the L. *Henry Seymour*, L. *Sheffeld*, Sir *Francis Drake*, with

Order taken by the K. of Scots in favour of the English.

Spanish Com̄ander taken priso-
ners & brought in to England

Severall strange Weapons
taken from the
Spaniard which were pro
vide^d to destroy ye English

with all the Captaines to the Court, saving such as had charge of the Fleet, that was under the L. *Henry*. And upon the returne of these Sea-men to the City, there are spread such reports, to move the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all other vulgar people of all sorts, into a mortall hatred of the Spaniards, as the poore Spanish prisoners were greatly afraid, to have bin all massacred; for that it was published, and of many beleeved, that the Lords of *Spaine* that were in the Navy, had made a speciall division amongst themselves, of all the Noblemens houses in *England* by their names, and had in a sort quartered *England* among themselves, and had determined of sundry manners of cruell death, both of the Nobility, and the rest of the people. The Ladies, Women, and Maidens were also destined to all villany; the rich Merchants houses in *London* were put into a Register by their very names, and limited to the companies of the Squadrons of the Navy for their spoyle. And to increase more hatred, it was reported that there were a great number of halters brought in the Spanish Navy, to strangle the vulgar people, and certaine Irons graven with markes, to be heated for the marking of all children in their faces, being under seven yeares of age, that they might be knowne hereafter to have been the children of the conquered Nation. These were commonly reported by those that came from the English Navy, as having heard the Spaniards confesse the same: so as for a time there was a generall murmure, that those Spanish prisoners ought not to be suffered to live, as they did, but to be killed, as they had purposed to have done the English. But the wiser sort of men, and such as had the charge of the prisoners, having no commandement from the Councell, did straitly looke to the safety of the prisoners, as a matter not to be so rashly suffered. But to content the people with some other matter, there was upon Sunday last, at the request of the Major and his brethren, a great number of Banners, Streamers, and Ensignes, which were won from the Spanish Navy, brought to *Pauls* Church-yard, and there showed openly in the Sermon time, to the great rejoycing of all the people. And afterwards they were carried to the crosse in Cheap, and afterwards to *London* bridge: whereby the former

Great murmurs of all sorts against the Spaniards.

Report of the horrible cruelty intended by the Spaniards.

Banners, Streamers and Ensignes of the Spaniards shewed to the people.

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Spanish Comander taken priso-
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with all the Captaines to the Court, ſaving ſuch as had charge of the Fleet, that was under the L. *Henry*. And upon the returne of theſe Sea-men to the City, there are ſpread ſuch reports, to move the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all other vulgar people of all ſorts, into a mortall hatred of the Spaniards, as the poore Spaniſh priſoners were greatly afraid, to have bin all maſſacred; for that it was publiſhed, and of many beleeved, that the Lords of *Spaine* that were in the Navy, had made a ſpeciall diviſion amongſt themſelves, of all the Noblemens houſes in *England* by their names, and had in a ſort quartered *England* among themſelves, and had determined of ſundry manners of cruell death, both of the Nobility, and the reſt of the people. The Ladies, Women, and Maidens were alſo deſtined to all villany; the rich Merchants houſes in *London* were put into a Regiſter by their very names, and limited to the companies of the Squadrons of the Navy for their ſpoyle. And to increaſe more hatred, it was reported that there were a great number of halters brought in the Spaniſh Navy, to ſtrangle the vulgar people, and certaine Irons graven with markes, to be heated for the marking of all children in their faces, being under ſeven yeares of age, that they might be knowne hereafter to have been the children of the conquered Nation. Theſe were commonly reported by thoſe that came from the Engliſh Navy, as having heard the Spaniards confeſſe the ſame: ſo as for a time there was a generall murmure, that thoſe Spaniſh priſoners ought not to be ſuffered to live, as they did, but to be killed, as they had purpoſed to have done the Engliſh. But the wiſer ſort of men, and ſuch as had the charge of the priſoners, having no commandement from the Councell, did ſtraitly looke to the ſafety of the priſoners, as a matter not to be ſo raſhly ſuffered. But to content the people with ſome other matter, there was upon Sunday laſt, at the requeſt of the Major and his brethren, a great number of Banners, Streamers, and Enſignes, which were won from the Spaniſh Navy, brought to *Pauls* Church-yard, and there ſhowed openly in the Sermon time, to the great rejoycing of all the people. And afterwards they were carried to the croſſe in Cheap, and afterwards to *London* bridge: whereby the former

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rage

rage of the people was greatly asswaged, the fury generally converted into triumph, by boasting in every place, that this was the act of God, who had heard the fervent prayers of the people, and was pleased with their former prayers and fastings; to have such Banners and Streamers, which the Spaniards meant to have brought and set up in all places of the City, as monuments of their triumphs, by his good providence in punishing the pride of the Spaniards, now to be erected by the English, as monuments of their victories, and perpetuall shame to the Spaniards. Upon these shewes great rejoycing followed: And as in Iune and Iuly past, all Churches were filled daily with people exercised with prayers, and shewes of repentance, and petitions to God for defence against their enemies: And in many Churches continually thrise in the week exercises of prayers, sermõs, & fastings all the daylong from morning to evening, with great admiration to see such generall devotion (which I and others did judge to proceed more of feare then of devotion) so now, since the English Navy is returned, and the Spanish Navy defeated, and intelligence brought of the disorders in *Flanders*; of the dissentions betwixt the Spaniards and the other souldiers; of the contempt of the Duke of *Parma* by the Spaniards, being thereto maintained by a Duke called the Duke of *Pastraw*, the King Catholiques baltard; and of the departure and running away of the Dukes mariners, here is a like concourse of the people to Sermons in all Churches: wherein is remembred the great goodnesse of God towards England, by the delivery thereof from the threatened Conquest, and prayers also publikely to give thanks to God for the same.

Daily prayers.

Publick prayers and giving of thanks.

At London this of September, 1588.

FINIS.